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A
MORAL ESSAY,
PREFERRING
SOLITUDE
TO PUBLICK
EMPLOYMENT,

And all it's Appanages; such as Fame,
Command, Riches, Pleasures,
Conversation, &c.

2 King. 4. 13.

— *Wouldest thou be spoken for to the
King, or to the Captain of the host?
And she answered, I dwell among mine
own people.*

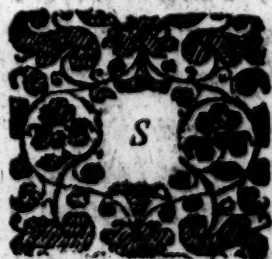
E D I N B U R H,

Printed for Robert Brown, and are to be sold
at his Shop, at the Sign of the Sun, on the
North-side of the Street, over
against the Cross.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE;
JOHN
EARL of
CRAVVFORD, &c.

My LORD,



*Since no man can glory in
nothing, but in that
he is GOD's Image;
certainly, that must be
his most glorious state
wherein that Image is
most clearly seen, and this is solitude;
wherein his composed soul (like the smooth
face of the Ocean) represents, with much
advantage, this glorious image which the*
A 2 *unequal*

The Epistle dedicatory.

unequal risings of stormy and aspiring waves of ambition do exceedingly conceal. The heathen Poet Lucretius describes the great perfections of the Deity to consist in that it is,

— Privata dolore omni privata periculis
Ipsa suis pollens opibus —

And Cicero upon this score confesses, that the Philosophers life was of all others most preferable, because of all others, it approached nearest to that of the gods. This, my Lord, invited me to write this Discourse in it's favours; which because I intended as a bundle of rods, for whipping such as were fondly ambitious; I did therefore strip naked of these leaves and flourishes of Eloquence, which by making them more pleasant, could not but make them less sharp. And if any tax me for sending this Book to publick view, from that solitude which both it and I so much commend; my answer is, That either it will convince these who read it; and then it will gratifie that solitude which it hath left; or else it will meet with censure and disdain,

The Epistle dedicatory.

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disdain, and then it's fate will demonstrate how dangerous it is to gaud abroad; to press which, is another of my great designs.

I intend not really to depreciat such by this Discourse as enjoy Honours and Employment; that design lyes as far out of my road, as it is rais'd above my power: but I intend by it to congratulate with such as either undervalue them out of inclination, or have lost them by accident; and to discipline such unquiet humours, as like powder, do, in blowing up themselves, destroy all that is above them, or resists their violent ascent: wherein, as I oblige Philosophers, by complementing the object of their complacency; So I gratifie States-men, by reclaiming such as are the ordinary object of their fears. Neither should any thing in this Discourse, which is picquant against those Courtiers who have been rather great then good, displease such as are both good and great, more then it should displease a Gentleman of noble shapes and features, to see a Painter draw another man (though of
the

The Epistle dedicatory.

the same species with himself) under all the disadvantages that can be trac'd by a deforming Pencile.

That I should choose your Lordship for my Patron, is no act of virtue ; because your condition , as it stands circumstantiat, made you almost the only person who deserv'd it at all, and altogether the person who deserv'd it most ; for, being the best Pattern for solitary persons, ye were the person who deserv'd most to be the Patron of solitude it self: especially, having obliged it so far , as to prefer it to that rival against which it now disputes for precedency ; and prefer'd it , after it's adverse party had been your old acquaintance, and had offer'd to bribe you, for your suffrage , with a purse heavy enough to have weighed down a light spirit. Fear not, my Lord, the want of fame (which is the only thing that solitude is thought to want) For, as the heathens resembled it to a Maid, so it hath this of a coy Maid likewise, that it courts most these who seem most to undervalue it ; and rarely any person admires his own servants so much,

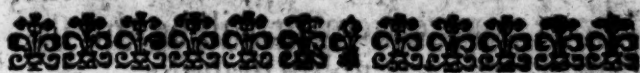
The Epistle dedicatory.

much, as it doth these who are strangers to it. And great men have this loss, that their superiors will not admire them, as being less then themselves; their equals will not, because they hate them; nor their inferiours, because they envy them, and do but too oft imagine that they are oppress'd for feeding their luxury. This famous rod which wrought so many miracles for others openly in Ægypt, did never it self flourish till it was laid up in the tabernacle, (according to their opinion, who will have both these to have been one and the same) and the Diamond ceases not to enjoy a greater lustre, though hid in the darkest corner, then these pleasing blossoms do, which the weakest breath of a storm will command down from the highest branch upon which they pearch. Fame then shall transmit your name to posterity, as the Jews did their embalm'd bodies which they preserv'd perfum'd and odoriferous in secret and retired Grotts and Sepulchres; whereas it will preserve that of more publick persons, only as the Egyptians

The Epistle dedicatory.

rians did theirs; whom by exposing to the open Sun, they kept as mummie, but so black and parcht, as that it had been better they had return'd to their former ashes. But, though fame should not thus gratifie you, yet witne (who hath so few deserving followers now, that it cannot but pile up pyramids of favours upon such as are) will recommend you to succeeding ages, both to let see that she wants not her Trophies even in this dotage of the world (wherein) she is not so deform'd by age, as not to have charmes strong enough to conquer such as deserve her favour) and to engage others, by this act of gratitude, to a dependence upon her. And amongst her admirers, you, as one of her minions, shall have still all deference paid you, by

Your Lordships most humble
Servant,



SOLITUDE

prefer'd to publick

EMPLOYMENT:

Generous CELADOR,

I Know that your advancement was to you, but as the being thrown up is to solide bodies; from which stare they cannot be so properly said to fall, as to run with inclination to that beloved centre and level, from which they were at first rais'd. I know you made no other use of that height which makes others giddy, then to take from off it's loftiest tops, a full prospect of all these vanities which so much ravish mean spirits. And your publick deportment being
B thus,

thus, so exact a picture of true Virtue, I hope your retirement will be the shadowing of that noble draught.

In the confidence of this, I send you this Elogy of *solitude*; not as Physicians send Pills, with praises to their averse Patients: for, as it were below your Stoicism to need such; So it is above my skill, to be able to administrat the meanest remedy, to so well a complexion'd soul as yours. But I praise it to you, as we use to praise a Mistress to her enamoured Gallant, whose intimacy with her, though it far exceeds the acquaintance of the praiser, yet it breeds not in her *enamorado*, an unwillingness to hear what he already knows; complacency being oftner the product of our knowledge, then the occasion of our enquiry. In paralleling greatness and *solitude*, as to their moral advantages, I shall first make some few reflections upon the ends for which both are sought, upon the employments wherein both are exercised, and lastly upon the revenue made upon either the

ther of these enjoyments, when fate or death shall force us to leave both.

As to the design which men propose to themselves, in pursuing Greatness and publick Employment; all will tell you, that they seek these, either to under-prop their falling families, (whose proud tops begin to bow, in homage to that mortality, which will needs one day triumph over us and ours) or else to defend themselves against some considerable enemy; or to wipe off the stains and scarres of disloyalty or prejudice. For, when opulent or great Persons undertake them, the very rabble have so much prudence, as to condemn these for mad men; when Philosophers or strong Spirits embarque in them, they say they do it to serve their Countrey, and not their inclinations; and flatterers pretend, that they design in these, the pleasing of their Prince, and not of their humour; So that as if all were ashamed of them, all do excuse their zeal after them: whereas, *solitude* (like a great beauty)

Sec. 1.
The motives to both compared.

SOLITUDE prefer'd

beauty) is courted for it self, and not for it's portion. And such as intend publick Employments, will pretend a love and design for *solitude*; and when they have attained their honours, they will still praise retirement: whereas, such as live privatly may sometimes pity, but will never seem to envy such as are in publick Employment. And not only is *solitude* courted for it self, and Greatness for some remoter end; but even Greatness and publick Employment are themselves oft (if not alwayes) design'd as subservient to *solitude*. Thus Merchants hazard drowning, and like the Sun, reel about the world, that they may gain as much as may affoord them the conveniency of a recess. For this Lawyers empty their brains, and Souldiers open their veins, and have oft nothing to sweeten their anxieties, but the remote prospect of solacing retirement: So that *solitude* must be excellent, seing it's enemies buy it at so dear a rate. And even *Cesar* behoved to recreate himself, with

to publick Employment.

an *aliquando mihi licebit, mihi vivere*, esteeming that part of his life to belong to others, which was spent on other mens employments. And seeing all aim at *solitude*, it must certainly be by as much more nobler then publick Employoment as the end is more noble then the means: and in this it approaches very near the nature of happiness, which is defined to be that, *to which all things tend, and which it self respects nothing yet acquireable*. But yet I must condemn these, who are at all this pains to gain *Solitude*, whom for this I esteem as unskillfull in the art of happiness, as these Navigators in *Solomons* time, were of the art of Sailing; who cruised alongst so many tedious shoars for reaching the gold of *Ophir*, a journey easily to be accomplished, in far less then half the time. Happiness is not the product of such endeavours, and these are rather hinderances then helps to *Solitude*. And this remembers me of that notable answer, given by *Cineas* the philosopher to *Pyrrhus*; who when

he told him that he intended to conquer *Greece*, then *Rome*, and so all the world; askt him, why he propos'd all that toil to himself? To which *Pyrrhus* answering, that he would do it, to the end he might at his return live happily and merrily with his friends the residue of his life. *Cineas* tancing him most sharply, told him, that he might live so, and do so presently, and so needed not be at so much superfluous pains.

Man is so frail a Creature, and his imperfections are so great and many, that that can only make him be reputed excellent, which can best conceal his natural frailties: And albeit our judgements are but shallow, yet here lyes our misfortune, that we are not able to abide the test of one anothers judgement. And this is the knack, for which men who are silent and reserved, or melancholy and dumpish, are reputed wise; for we admire not what we see, but what we see not. And yet, neither melancholy nor silence serve so to skreen our infirmities

infirmities, as *solitude* does; seing such as converse in the world may be fathomed by other means then discourse, and may, upon unexpected rencounters, be even provoked to that likewise. Wherefore it is a virtuous imposture, and an allowable charltanry, to design retirement; because that secures against all the inconveniences of either of these, by abstracting us from the temptations of the one, and from the engines of the other: and if melancholy or silence possesses any thing in their nature, which can be thought excellent, certainly *solitude* enjoys the same in a more eminent measure; for these make but parcels of that noble state, silence being but a *solitude* in discourse, and melancholy a *solitude* in humour: whereas *solitude* is more excellent then these, because in possessing both their advantages, it wants the adust, bile and jealousy of melancholy, and the constipation of silence.

Except some volatile Heads, whose mercurial Complexion hath inclined

them rather to a restlessness, then virtuous activity, and who like the wind, are nothing at all when they are not moving: and ye will find the residue of men so averse from toil and employments, that they must be either bryb'd to them by gain, or baited with honour: and the most diligent amongst active States-men will wish, that their long'd-for triumphs, or desired employments, were at a period; that they might *enjoy themselves* (for so they terme it) *in a solitary retirement*; which is that *Canaan* of rest, which like *Moses* on *Pisgab*, they see afar off, but without hopes of enjoyment: and so fond are these upon one moment of it, when enjoyed, that they will disoblige for it on-waiters, neglect their interest, and slight oft great advantages. Thus then we see, that nature, inclination and pleasure, vote all for *solitude*; and that publick Employment is unnatural in it's rise, and wearying in it's sequel, as it is dangerous (if not fatal) in it's termination.

to publick Employment.

I know that there are some great persons, who like great fishes, never come to shoar till they be wounded; distasters, affronts and necessities driving them there for shelter, rather then choice; and this makes many think, that these *encomiums* given to *solitude*, are either contrived by Pedants, who could never reach preferments, or by degraded Courtiers, who after they have been outed of their publick Employments, harrangue against what they have lost, to satisfie, not their reason, but their revenge. But, to these I answer, that *solitude* is by this objection prov'd to be an excellent state, seing even the distrest expect an asyle and protection there: for distrest makes us run where we may expect help; and that must be the securest harbour, to which the distrestest vessels make their application. And I believe best these Elogies, which *solitude* gets from such who know both states; and because some use this as a Pretext, therefore it must be excellent: for the excellentest

test things are only used, and can only serve as Pretexts, and that cannot but be much respected amongst men, whose very shadow can make misery pass for virtue, and make misfortunes be esteem'd happiness. Yet, certainly, misfortunes may make men real Philosophers, as afflictions makes real Christians: and it is very probable, that one, who after much confidence in Court and Riches, hath been tumbled down unexpectedly, will be more really convinced of it's slipperiness and emptiness, then such as never found the effects of so much revolution. But there are many also, such as *Dioclesian* and *Charles* the fifth, both Emperors, and many others, who after a compleat fruition of all Courtly succeſse and pleasure, have taken a solemn congry of it, whilst it yet smiled upon them, and I am confident many moe would, if they did not apprehend much hazard in their retreat, from these who thought themselves injured by them in their prosperity.

In

to publick Employment.

In ballancing the employments of ^{Sec. 2.} Solitude, with these of greatness, be- ^{The em-} cause greatness will still struggle for ^{ploy-} precedencie, I shall therefore scan ^{ments} first it's disadvantages; amongst which, ^{and dif-} this is one, that either publick Persons, ^{ficulties} have attained to the fruition of what ^{of both} they design'd; and in that case, there ^{compar-} are many wayes to make them miser- ^{ed.} able, because the subtraction of any one of these many enjoyments, robs them of all the satisfaction they can enjoy in what remains. And there are but few wayes to make them happy, because little can be added to their present possessions: or, they have not attain'd to what they have projected; and then they fret more; and suffer more disquietings, then the meanest servant whom they command; And like that man in the Parable, consider more the one lost sheep, then the ninety nine which yet remain. Did the conquest of all that the Sun sees, restrain *Alexander* from weeping; because he could conquer no more? No. For, Ambition

Ambition is like hunger, which though it is once satisfied, continues no longer so, then it hath for a little time prey'd upon what was at first presented to it: and like the fire, is so far from being satisfied with what is thrown into it, that it is by that new fuel, not only enabled to destroy, but likewise forc'd to seek more aliment for sustaining it's wasting rage.

These who are in publick Employment, have either many dependers, or not; if they have not, they are not satisfied: for, the scope of such is to be depended on, and the missing of this renders them more miserable, then poverty or sickness could a *Stoick*: but if they be incircled by crouds of attenders, then are they interess'd, not only in maintaining their own Posts, but likewise in sustaining their numerous Clients; in whose fall, their reputation is, as in their own standing, equally interess'd. And when they have been at great pains to effectuat the pretences of these their dependers, if these pre-
tences

tences succeed, then either the pretenders whom they assist, do arrogate the success to themselves, or their own merits: or else they think it but the price of their attendance, and so look upon it as paid before bestowed: whereas the party with whom these have to do, will ever thereafter carry the Patron at implacable malice: Or, if these pretences succeed not, then they impute it to the want of conduct, or of gratitude in these their lofty Patrons. And if any two, or more of these dependers, should jostle amongst themselves (as ordinarily falls out amongst such as are rivalls in favour) then the Grandee is divided in his resolution; and as he gains no new friend by assisting the one, So he loses an old servant by opposing the other. And when a Grandee hath spawn'd out his Estate amongst his Favourites, one of a thousand will not prove gratefull; but though all the thousand should prove gratefull to one, the ingratitude of that one will be more unpleasant, then can be repair'd by the gratitude

gratitude of all the remanent nine hundred and ninety nine.

As to their equals, such as are in publick Employment, lye under this inconvenience, that either they please them not, and these they either find, or make their enemies; or, if they endeavour to please all, then the task is either impossible, or unprofitable: impossible, because after that they have crook'd their own humour to make it fall parallel to another mans vn-even fancy, then they may instantly lose their pains; when vpon the same principle (of pleasing all) they indeavour to oblige one, who either is, or is believed to be, either rival, or enemy to him who was first oblig'd. And is there any thing more ordinar (though nothing more vnjust) then to hear, *ye must either not be my friend, or that mans enemy?* This pleasing all is likewise unprofitable, because things are not valued by advantage but by propriety: and thus we value that friendship most, which is born to us solely, or in a greater mea-

measure then to others. Whereby it appears clearly, that if ye carry equally to all, ye oblige none, and if more to some then to others, ye disoblige these to whom ye carry least; which certainly (because our love is like our selves, most finit) must be the greatest part : and these who are disobliged, are more zealous in their enmity, then these who are obliged, are in their friendship. The conclusion of all, which is, that albeit the great pleasure of publick Employment is, that thereby they may oblige many to a dependance upon them, yet men gain by it more, and more vigorous enemies, then such as are recluse do, albeit they profuse none of their inestemable time upon so uncertaine a purchase.

As to their Superiours, it vexes doubtless such as are at so much toyl to be high themselves, to see any yet higher then themselves; and they count as many crosses, as they do Superiours. If States-men be not at the highest pitch of favour, they fret at the unluckiness of

of their own fate, and exclaim against their ill-faced stars: and if they attain to it, then they are oft jealous by their promoters: And *Sejanus* is loaded with more contumely by his Patron *Tiberius*, then ever he was with honours. And after that these ploding pates, have raised their designs to that line, that they conceive, they may justly admire it's noble structure, and their own skill in it's contrivance; then that fabrick, upon which, for (possibly) their whole life, they have laid out the whole stock of their happiness and expectation, may be in one moment, blown over by one word from their Prince, who is a man subject to his own fate, as they are to theirs: and when they perceive that the same Prince is thereafter forc'd to yield to his own destiny, they cannot but conclude, that they have been themselves mean persons, who was so easily destroyed, by one who was so easily destroyed himself. If *Parmenio* had not killed *Attalus*, or *Cleander Parmenio*, their disobedience had been a crime;

crime; and when they obeyed, their obedience was really a crime in them, and was hated as such by *Alexander* who commanded it: so that superiours do oft tye their favourits to the observance of what is contradictory, and consequently require what is impossible.

It was nobly said, by that grand Master of Stoicisme, *Seneca*, that, *qui multa agit, saepe se fortuna objecit*. And publick persons are in this, like great Garisons, which by how much the greater they are, are so much the worse to be defended, and by how much the richer they are, are so much the more stoutly assaulted. For establishing this great truth which is *unum ex mirabilibus Stoicorum*, I shall under-prop it by these two subservient conclusions; first, that seeing that is only, in all the Schools of philosophers, defin'd to be morally good, which is compleat at all points; and that to be evil, which labours of the least defect: certainly it must be a great task, not only to do good, but even not to fall into the

commission of evil. The second conclusion shall be, that as it is almost impossible not to slip into the committing of evil, yet our escapes are never forgot, when once committed; and not only wrong they us as to that action, but they likewise detract from all our subsequent good actions: and albeit it be very hard to do what is good, yet our good actions are most unfrequently remembered; or if they be, then they are esteemed duties, and so they bring us by that remembrance, no other advantage from men, then not to bring a tash upon us. *Marshal Biron's* many victories, obtained by his valour, for *Henry the fourth*, *Walsteins* for the Emperour, nor *Essex's* for *Queen Elizabeth*, did not excuse their after-treason. And *Balaams* beast (though otherwayes an Ass) could tell it's Master, *have not I ridden with thee ever since I was thine without stumbling?* and yet now thou hast struck me thrice? From all which it follows, that publick employments, because they

they oblige a man to many actions, they therefore engage him in many misfortunes, and lay him open to much detraction. Neither doth mans misery stint it self here; but, which is worse, envy, malice and mistake, blaze us for more vicious then really we are; we commit some escapes, wherein we mistake our selves, but we are said to commit others, wherein others do but mistake us; we commit some, which are really our own transgressions, but we are said to commit others, which are but other mens imputations. Such as are in publick Employments can never want rivalls; and such as want not rivalls can never miss mis-reports, especially in our Country, where the way to preferment is so narrow, that we imagine no man can get by his neighbour, except he run over him. O! what a divine state then must *solitude* be, wherein a virtuous in activity fortifies us against all these inconveniences, and begets in us a tranquillity, not conceivable by such as do not possess it.

SOLITUDE prefer'd

Have ye not, my Lord, oft heard great men say, *I must do this, and assent to that, though neither the one nor the other satisfies my judgment?* Have ye not seen great men forc'd to abandon their most deserving friends, forc'd to connive at, and oft to congratulate the promotion of their greatest enemies? will they not be sometimes oblig'd to put on a constrain'd countenance, feign an unnatural mine, and express what is diametrically opposite to their thoughts; all which are servitudes which greatness exacts from us: for every force is a yoke ty'd upon our nature; and man being more noble than brutes, because he is more free than they are, certainly what impairs his freedom, destroys his reason: and most of these restraints, as they are against nature, in being servitudes, So they are against virtue, in being opposite to what our reason would (not over-power'd by interest or fancy) exact of us. And I should think, that the same impulse, which hurries men

on to desire to be great, that they may be Masters, should, with far more reason carry them to be solitary: for there they are emancipat from these necessities, and have none to obey but God and nature; Masters who commands us to do nothing, but what were fit for our selves to do, albeit we were not commanded.

As these Countreys are esteemed most excellent and preferable, whose necessities are supplied by their native commodities, pulling out of their own bosome all that their Inhabitants require; So by the same rule, *solitude* must be, by much preferable to publick Employment, seing this requires, and wants but little, but the other needs much, and is not satisfied when it gets what it needs. *Solitude* requires no avarice to maintain it's table, nor oppression to bear up it's train; it is satisfied without Coaches, Lacquies, Treasures and Embroideries: The solitary man is not vext, that others must take the door of himself, or

is able to maintain a more sumptuous table then he; he is not disquieted at the infrequency of guests, nor echoes of his equals praises. And seing great men are still disquieted at the advancement of others, they must still be unfortunate; for though they were capable to receive, yet they are not able to sustain the weight of all employments alone.

Consider these clouds which sit oft upon the countenance of men in Employments, their gate like to that of an disrudered Ship, and their discourse dis-joynted, and blown, as it were, all to pieces by their tempestuous passions; and ye will find such (many times) to differ but by an ace, from these who have Keepers at *Bedlam*: And by these disorders ye may perceiue, that employment and madnes are of too near an alliance; and if the one, certainly both must be diseases, seing both have the same symptoms, and the same prognosticks. And in these distempers, how oft speak they things, which are there:

thereafter either quarrell'd openly, or at least are the seed-plot of continual heart-burnings to these at whom they aimed? But to abstract from all these accidental disadvantages, Is it not a madness for a rational Soul, for whom all the world was created, to observe nothing in this world, but whether another manages his Process well, with what harmony stricks another man's pulse, or how to brigue the favour of a Minion? Acts so extrinsick to the nature of an immaterial creature, such as the Soul, that if men got not money by these Employments, they would themselves condemn them as ridiculous. And is there any thing more ordinar, even amongst the herd of brutish busie-bodies, then to chide their friends for attending either the persons or employments of those who reward not such pains, and for so doing upbraid them as mad men; and so they are indeed. By which it is most evident, that men in employment have nothing to excuse their madness, but that they

are not madd, but for money or preferment. And is it not a shame for so noble a creature as Man, to be content to shew himself madd for any hire whatsoever?

Solitude has likewayes this advantage over publick Employment, that there is no vice commissable in *solitude*, to which men in publick lye not yet more open; whereas, there are some crimes, such as, treason, sedition, ostentation, and a whole tribe of the like nature, which retired persons can hardly commit; and though they could, yet hardly does that state admit of these temptations, which are previously necessary to the commission of them. Is there any thing more ordinar, then to hear one who is accused for deserting his friend, or party, to answer, that his office, or present designs, occasioned and required that defection? And are not men, for accomplishing their projects, tempted to betray secrets, to become rivals to their friends, and assisting to their enemies? Whereas, no

Record

Record can witness against retired persons, that they ever either ruined their native Country, betrayed their Prince, or deserted their Friend? At least, if any in that state have been tempted to the least degree of any such crime, certainly they had committed moe, and greater villanies, if they had lived in publick, where those wicked inclinations might have been strengthened, by example, design, passion, revenge, or some such temptatoin. And if our inclinations be so wild, when they are caiged up in *solitude*, how untame will they become, when they are licenced to range abroad? He who would stab his Prince, who had never the occasion to offend his remote Cell, would burn the world, if he had a design, to which that might be subservient. Did not *Nero*, *Tiberius*, *Heliogabulus* and others, enjoy the repute of noble souls, before their mounting the Imperial Throne; brought them new vices, with new honours, and made them as much beyond other in their debauches, as they were in the power,

power, which fed them in that their dissolut humour. Since then no honest person can deny, but that it were better never to have the greatest honour, then to be said by after-ages to have committed the least villany: certainly the state of publick Employment is scarce to be wished for, seing therein men are tempted to commit the greatest of crimes; especially, seing these their escapes must be committed in publick, where they are never concealed, and but seldom (if ever) pardoned.

Secd.

The pe-
riods of
both.

As to the periods of both, certainly *salitude* hath by much the advantage: For, look over the Callendar of all these Heroes or Grandees who have governed Kingdoms, or were Favourites of the first rate to such as did govern them; and ye will find most of their fates marked with the red Letters of a violent death, or the black Letters of *shame*. Ignominy overtakes, whom fate hath left undestroyed; and Gleans the grapes, after the other hath cut down it's vintage:

Sine

— *Sine cede, & sanguine pauci*
Descendent Reges & sicca morte tyranni.

It is observed, that betwixt *Julius Caesar* and *Charlemain*, thirty Roman Emperors have been slain, and many since. And I am so ashamed of the cruelty of those who are of the same *species* with my self, that I must conceal the many other murders of King's and Grantees: and as to the disgrace of others, these can hardly be sufficiently either numbered or regraded. And albeit others are not deter'd from embracing those honours under which their first owners have been crush'd upon the account, that they imagine their Predecessors ruine to have flow'd from some personal frailty or error, against which they are confident they can guard, yet certainly all should, even from this answer, conclude, that greatness must be most undesirable, seing, at least, it discovers these frailties, or tempts men to commit these errors, which thereafter occasions these ruines. Neither find we any such dangers to attend *solitude*,
either

either necessarily, or by accident : So that albeit these be the misfortunes of those men, and not of the employment, yet seeing these are only the misfortunes of men in employment, I see not why employment should be so desirable by men who fear misfortunes. But the truth is, it is impossible to warde against the unexpected blows which are thrust in at such, for they are so cunningly contrived by the attackers (because of the danger of being discovered) that they are sooner felt then foreseen. Who could dis-appoint the malice of those who killed these noble Princes, *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth of *France*? Who could have targetted *Buckingham* against *Feltons* thrust? And all the prudence of *Cæsars* Court could not avert his massacre in the Senat, especially being contrived by his confident, *Brutus*; *Et tu fili Brute* said that great Emperour. And that which renders the suddain fall of these Heroes the more deplorable, is, that by being suddain,

it not only disorders their affairs and endangers their souls, but likewise so amazes their friends and followers, that they are thereby incapacitate from providing against the sequels of that fall, and are themselves (who only can help their falling friend) brought to fall with him. I have oft remarked with wonder, how ghastly the favorites of a falling Minion do look, and how astonishingly they are lookt at by their former intimats; and which is strange, not only do the enemies of a fallen Grandee insult over his misfortunes, but even these who were his former well-wishers, are (to avert the jealousy of those who occasioned his fall) necessitate to enveigh most bitterly against his memory;

Dum jacet in ripa calcemus Cesaris hostem.

Neither can I see how greatness can be defended against misfortunes; for ordinarily these rise from such unexpected beginnings, that none see in (or apprehend the least danger by) them: and
all

all the world is not able, by conjecture, to fall upon that *medium* by which providence intends to infer their ruine. Who could have guessed, that *Mordecai's* discovering a plot to *Shasuerus* wherein *Haman* was not concerned, would be the mean to destroy that great Favourite? I have oft heard the friends of those who are now low, ask at such as told them of the slipperiness of favour, how could their Patron ever be destroyed? and it was impossible that could fall out during such a Government. And yet I have my self seen these men outed of all their confident expectations; a passionat expression, a rash act, a jealousy or mis-information which could not be foreseen, because then there was no bottom for such a conjecture, hath ruined oft-times such as never expected any alteration: and who can promise that they shall never drop one word in passion, act any thing without a previous deliberation, or never fall under mis-information? And which is yet worse, when mis-informations

tions are forged against great men: They are not acquainted by such as either gives or receives them, and so their defence becomes imprestable. I have heard of Favourits who have been ruined, because the Queen said they were handsome men, or the King thought them to excell himself in any thing wherein himself pretended to a mastership: and what plodding pate could have stav'd off, or foreseen these misfortunes? No, no.

*Ludit in humanis divina prudentia
rebus.*

And seeing there are many who have the courage to throw away their lives upon the revenge of a small affront, or to hazard them in an open, and yet almost a barren robbery, why should it be thought, that so saitsie so impetuous a passion as Revenge, there should not be some found who will hazard death, by giving it in the revenge of either an injury done to a Family or Nation, much more of an affront fixt upon the undertaker himself, in his

32 SOLITUDE prefer'd

his honour, or entire fortune, as oft falls out :

But albeit great men and publick Ministers escape the fate of a murder or massacre, yet how is their happiness founded? is it not either upon the humour of a capricious people, if in a Commonwealth? and then how un-solid is that happiness where the foundation is so fleeting? Consider *Rome*, which, though the wisest of all Republicks, yet, upon a jealousie or a mistake, or some times out of wantonness, destroyed in an instant the most carressed, and most deserving of her Favourits. Or, upon the favour of a Prince, if in a Monarchy; and then ye must confess them oft-times subject to all the caprices of a lofty humour, licenc'd by the extent of his power, to equal his power and his humour; and entic'd, by the instigation of enemies or rivals, to stretch his humour beyond his allowed power. Why did *Solyman* the Magnificent, cut the throat of *Ibrahim Bassa* his Confident? was it not to satisfie the

the fancy of a Concubine? Or *Justinian* pull out the eyes of valiant *Bellisarius*? was it not to gratifie an insolent Wife? So that a States-man lyes open, not only to the hazard of his Masters fancy, but to the passion of his Wife, his Concubines, his Favourits and Bel-
low-servants, and even to Fate it self, which is the most comprehensive of all dangers.

But albeit a States-man were able to escape privat revenge, and to mannage, with success, his Princes humour, and to satisfie that of his Favourits, yet he is still obnoxious to *ragione del stato*, and interest of State, by which his Prince is oft (to evite the rage of a multitude) either forc'd to object his Minion to their rage, as the head in a natural body defends it self by throwing up it's hand or arm to receive the stroak, or else he may be pull'd from the kind bosome of his unwilling Master: And of this hazard our own age affords us a lamentable instance in the person of the great Earl of *Strafford*, whom

D

popular

popular fury did drag to the Scaffold; his Princes protection not being sufficient for his defence; who viewing, from that deplorable Stage, the inconsistency of Courtship and Advancement, did leave in legacie to his Son, a strait command never to aim at higher promotion then that of a Justice of Peace in his own County.

Consider likeways how sometimes the satiety of a Prince produces the same ruine of Favourits, which is at other times the product of his cruelty. And *Comines* observes, that *Lewis* the eleventh of *France* used to say, that seeing Princes did weary of Houses, Countries and other inanimat things, which could never offend them, and which no rival or enemy was at the pains to trouble, It was no wonder that they wearied of Favourits, who were subject to all these inconveniences. Princes do likewise ruine their Grandees, sometimes to satisfy their vanity, in shewing that their power is able to remove those who think they cannot fall without a

miracle

miracle; and sometimes to make way to new Favourits, thinking it injustice to entail all honours upon the same persons. And, as in the body natural; So likewise in the politicke, it is observable, that nature hath provided more diseases, then the best of Physicians can prevent by remedies.

To conclude this period, be pleased to conclude the unluckiness of publick Employment from this, That not only amongst rivals, one of two pretenders satisfie, by their fall, the rage of fate, but when it hath assisted the one to destroy the other, it then turns it's fury against the late victor: Thus *Pompey* and *Cesar's* blood purpl'd equally the swords of murderers, agreeing in nothing but their destiny. *Hannibal* beats the Romans; *Scipio* beats *Hannibal*, and the Romans banish *Scipio*. *Bellisarius* makes *Gilimer* King of the *Goths* ridiculous, leading him as a prisoner in his triumph; and Fate renders *Bellisarius* yet more ridiculous, driving him to beg, with this

expression, *bestow but a farthing upon Bellisarius*. And it is most observable, that during our civil wars, four most eminent persons, who did head contrary, as well as different parties, did all lose both their heads, and their fortunes in the quarrel; whereas it might have been expected, that at least one of the opposits, should have worn unfading lawrels: and really there was more hazard in the fear, of being the one who was to be destroyed (for they might certainly have expected, that one of themselves, should fall) then all the grandour, which the survivors, might expect, could sufficiently requite.

And when the monarch or commonwealth, which a Statesman hath long served, intends either in compliance with their interests, or to gratifie their humour, to oust their servant of his employment, or in order thereto to fix a crime upon him: then how can he escape from that tryal, or defend his right against that persuit: for where
the

the Judge is party, there the Law may prove Advocat. And in these *contrast's*, I remember few dicisions, amongst all who have collected them, of any subject, who came off with honour.

Seing as of all other things, so of our thoughts the first-born should be sacrificed to our almighty Maker; I therefore resolved, to begin my first discourse with these reflections, which *Solitude* might borrow from devotion. But, since Orators recommend the last place in our discourse, to the strongest perswasives (as being able when plac'd there to leave the freshest impressions; upon the leaving Reader) I shall therefore in this last place, (which is, alas! the too ordinar room allowed to devotion) recommend to you, to consider, that God possesses moe excellencies, and we labour under moe sins, then can be fully contemplated, in the one case; or lamented in the other, throughout the whole flux of eternity. And after that we have evacuated our
more

Sec. 3.
Motions
to solitude
from religion.

more refined spirits, in chase of these fleeing follies, will it satisfie him to to have our dulled thoughts (the lame of the flock) served up upon his holy Altars? And seing he styles himself a jealous God: certainly he cannot but be jealous, that because we converse with others more then with him; we must therefore, either love these better or expect more, either advantage or pleasure in their society then in his.

I confess that publick Employment, is lawfull in it self, and necessar to the Common-wealth, and that men may serve God in the intervalls of their other publick negotiations. But the question is not, what is lawfull in it self; but what is convenient for us, and seing we run already, but too slowly that divine race, I see not why we should slow our pace yet more by taking on the burthen of publick employment. And seing all our time is but too short, for the service of him whom far more excellent creatures then

we worship unceffantly, time without end : I think it ftrange, that we fhould content our felves to ferve him *perparenthefin*, or by intervals.

To thefe I fhall add this import confideration, that moft of temptations, are in *Solitude* difarm'd of thefe charms, which renders them formidable to us in publick : love wants there the prefence of an enflaming object to fecond it ; revenge wants the prefence of the party injured to prefs it : and vanity when it wants admirers, wants force. Though *Mofes* was the meekeft man upon the earth, whilft he lived in the defert ; yet the extravagancy of thofe whom he governed, when providence had advanced him, made him offend his Maker, fo highly, that all his former fervices, could not obtain, even from the Father of mercies, a liberty to enter into an earthly *Canaan*. If *Naaman* had lived an Hermit, he needed not have crav'd the Prophet leave, to bow to the idols of his mafter, in the houfe of *Rimmon*. And if *Da-*

vid had not been governor of *Iſrael*, he had wanted the means both to humble *Bathſheba* ; and kill *Urriah*, ſuch is the ill fate of publick Employment, that it not only affords us temptations, but the means likewise of effectuating that to which we are tempted.

It was I confeſs God's own verdict of man, that it was not good for him to be alone, but this was when becauſe of his congenial innocence, he needed not fear the contamination of ſociety ; but to demonſtrate what the hazard of being in company is: even *Adam* could not live one day in it, and live innocent, for the firſt news we hear of him, after that *Eve* was affociat to him, is, that he had foreſeited that native purity.

I know that our Saviour, was carried by Satan to the wilderneſs, that he might tempt him there. But it is moſt obſervable, that after that experienced enemy, found that his Divinity would not yeild to any thing therein repreſented ; he thereafter (as the laſt and
fo

so the strongest shift left to him un-
 essayed, did bring him to *Jerusalem*; and
 having advanced him above the tem-
 ple, he proffer'd him the halfe of the
 belted world, and all it's glories;
 a temptation, fitted only for such as
 value honour and publick Employ-
 ment.

When G o d Almighty intended to
 converse with *Moses*, He called him
 from the populous camp, to the top
 of Mount *Sinai*. And our Saviour
 did not disclose the glories of his
 Transfiguration at *Jerusalem*, but up-
 on the top of the Mount of *Olives*.
 The Widow who intended a lodging
 for *Elisha* that great Prophet, did build
 it apart upon the wall, furnishing it
 only with a Stool and Candlestick:
 and when he asked her, if he should
 speak for her to the King, or Captain
 of his Hoast, she told him, without
 farther answer, that she dwelt amongst
 her own Friends, and in her own
 Countrey; intimating thereby, that
 there was no need of any favour Kings
 could

2 Kings
 4. 19.

2 Kings
 4. 12.

could bestow upon such as enjoy'd so happy a recess. I recreate my self to think I see *Elijah* sitting under a juniper Tree, or in a concealed Grove, visited in that *solitude* by the same G O D, who refused His presence to mighty *Ahab*; and to contemplat how *Ahaziah* was able to find no ease upon his purpred couch, till he dispatched in quest of it some of his chiefeft Captains to court it from the same Prophet, sitting upon the top of a mountain: By all which places and postures, the Spirit of G O D (who losses no observation) intends doubtless to enamour us of *solitude* and recess. And it is very observable, that none of these old Prophets are found, in Scripture, at Court or in Publick, but as bearded Comets appear in the air, where they have no other earand then to denounce Judgments to the place over which they hover.

G O D Almighty, who because he is the object as well as enjoyner of our devotions, should, and does upon these and many

many other scores, best know how to address them; hath commanded us to retire into our Closets (the most solitary of all our rooms) and to make these yet more retired, hath ordained us to close our doors behind us when we make any religious applications to him, promising, that *he who seeth in secret, will reward us openly*: And if we will consider these gawdy distractions, whereby our publick devotions are almost rendered no devotion at all, and that there is more noise in the world then will suffer us to hear that still voice which cries behind us, *This is the way, walk ye in it*; certainly we may conclude, from both reason and experience, (as well as out of obedience to divine Commands) that *solitude* is the true forge of the purest devotions. When God did intend to discipline his beloved (though rebellious) *Israel*, he chose first the wilderness of *Sinai*, and then the two Captivities to be his sacred School. And, *Hosea* 2. 14. he tells his own people, that *he will allure her*

SOLITUDE prefer'd

her (meaning the Jewish Church) and bring her to the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her.

Religion hath another quarrel at Advancement, which is, that it devests oft-times it's enjoyers, not only of devotion and of friendship, which is a moral virtue, but even of affection; which is so natural to brutes themselves, that a man is worse then these when he wants it: and not only forgoe they it upon such necessities as might at least excuse, if not justifie, their so doing, but do so likewise to satisfy their humour; a slavery which deserves to be condemn'd, though it's object were in it self justifiable. No man could have believed, if Scripture had not told it, that *Saul* would, from being an absolute Monarch, descend to so low a baseness, as to cast away his daughter *Michael* meerly that he might destroy her Husband: Or that a Prince of *Midian* would have prostitute his daughter *Cozbi*, to the promiscuous multitudes of the Israelitish camp, of design to tempt them to

1 Sam.
28.

Numb.
25.

to a sin: which could not but be attended with his own infamy; as well as their ruine. Was it not for this that *Romulus* cemented the first foundation of the Roman walls with the blood of his brother *Remus*? And though *Abel* and *Cain* had the division, of what tempts (I will not say) satisfies now the ambition of many thousands to gratifie their expectations; yet, was not so ample a partage able to prevent the spilling even of a brothers blood, by one whose crime was so much the greater that it was without president, and was to become an example to many thousands of succeeding ages? Many whereof might, and have been thereby not only encouraged to commit afresh this old sin, but likewayes to seek, in the greatness of this offence, excuses, whereby to lessen their own barbarity.

But if any call in question the advantages that accrew to devotion by *solitude*, let him cast back his eye upon the primitive Church, wherein the material fabrick was contriv'd dark, and

and situate in the remotest corners and solitary Groves, both by Pagans and Christians; as if that black enamel brightned the lustre of the golden Candlesticks: and upon the infinit swarms of such as became Moncks and Hermits, encourag'd thereto by the homilies and entreaties of the noblest Fathers; of which state the Emperour *Justinian* did, after he had kept that oecumenick Council, become so enamour'd, that he hath registrat it's noble Elogies in the Frontis-piece of his divine *codex*. Whilst, upon the other hand, the Heathens of old, and now the Mahumetans did, and do teach, that one of the chief torments in their hell shall be, that men will there be cast loose to to these occupations and civil employments, which here exercis'd them; esteeming it a torture for illuminat Spirits, and such as are defecat from sensuality, to be re-embarass'd with such terrestrial affairs as busie us in this our earthly state. Pardon, my Lord, this in-road I have made upon devotion; and

and learn from it, that *solitude* and *devotion* are so nearly related, that we can hardly praise the one, and not commend the other.

I shall hear use the authority of great Hero's; who, after the fruition of both, have by much prefer'd *solitude*, whereas (which is very strange) there is not a single testimony to be had from such as these, in favours of publick Employment.

The first shall be of *Charles* the Great, who, being to die, cry'd out to these who stood about him; *O! how vain are the thoughts of men: and how wretched are they that aspire to glory: What hath my Kingdom, or the service, of so many men gain'd me? Much more happy had I been, if in stead of a Scepter, I had wielded an hedging Bill; and if of a King I should have made my self a Clown.* Following in this almost the very expressions of *Alphonsus* his brother: *Suatocapius* King of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, having lost a battel against the Emperour *Arnold*, did retire him-

*Mari-
neus
lib. 18.*

himself into a wilderness, where, after he had lived a long time with three Hermits, he at his death told them, that there was not any greatness preferable to the tranquillity of that solitude. The safe sleep (said he) which we enjoy here, makes the roots savoury, and the waters sweet; whereas the cares of a Kingdom makes all meat and drink taste bitter. That part of my life, which, I have past with you, was true happiness; whereas that which I led upon my royal Throne deserves more the title of death then of life. And Giges King of Lydia, puff'd up with his great wealth and many victories, having asked the Oracle of Apollo, if there was any man happier in the world then himself, had Ageslaus the poor Arcadian shepheard prefered to him. And Similis, one of Adrian the Emperours chief Captains, having retir'd to the Countrey, after all his preferments, caused grave this Epitaph upon his own Tomb, Here lyes Similis, of a very great age, who yet lived but seven years.

I might here cite *Constantine*, that excellent King of *Scotland*; *Theodatus* King of the *Goths*; *Charles* the fifth; *Sertorius*, and hundreds of other Princes, if I thought it not more of advantage to *solitude* to say of these, that they are so many, they cannot be cited.

Seing then reason and experience do impresse us with so pungent disswasives from greatness, let us a little examine what can be in it, able to preponder to so weighty discouragements.

Sec. 2
Fame
examined.

The first prize contended for by great persons, is *Fame*, a revenue payable only to our ghosts; and to deny our selves all present satisfaction, or to expose our selves to so much hazard for this, were as great madness as to starve our selves, or fight desperately for food to be layed on our Tombs after our death. Either publick Ministers value much the discourses of the multitude; and if so, they erre in offending them as oft as their gain or pleasure affords them the meanest temptation, or else they value these not; and if so,

E

why

why is there so much pains, taken for
Fame, which is nothing else but a col-
 lection of their suffrages: which re-
 flection recommends much to me,
 that stoical year, given to *Hannibal* by
Juvenal,

*I demens, & Jovis curre per Alpes,
 ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.*

Climb over the Alps, thou mad, vain glorious fool,
 That thou may children please, & be their theme at school.

For convincing us of the folly of this
 passion, be pleased to consider, that
 either our souls, have the same per-
 iod with our life, and then to talk of
 us after death, is to talk of what is not;
 and what advantage brings it to us,
 when being we are not, what is said of
 us, cannot affect what is not, or our de-
 parted souls survive, in eternal blest:
 And then the loud Hallelujahs of my-
 riads of Angels, will easily drown so the
 voice of *Fame* in our ears, that it will not
 be heard by us: and our souls will be
 so replet with infinit joyes, that there
 will be no room for it's report, though
 it were exauceable; for *Fame*, being but

air, must yield and flee out at the ac-
 cess of any thing, that is more solide,
 or else the souls of these, who are
 praised, will be damned: and then they
 will not be susceptible of any pleasing
 impressions. And I am confident that
 one of the torments of damned spirits,
 is that they imagine all the world to be
 full of their infamy. And seeing the
Fame of the greatest of men, is not able
 to solace him in the fit of a fever, or
 gravel; Why should we imagine that
 it can lessen the weight of such pressing
 torments, as infernal horror, or eter-
 nal damnation? To talk of *Amphialus*,
 who never was, is the same thing as to
 talk of *Alexander*: only *Amphialus*, can-
 not be stained with cruelty, vanity and
 drunkenness as *Alexander* is: but albest
Fame were to be courted; what share
 of it can we expect, who are scarce
 known beyond the line of our own
 History, and but transiently in that
 likewise? Who amongst us would
 roll as we do, to be esteemed, as *Pope-
 Innocent* or *Bisard*, (whom I believe very

few have heard of) and yet these acted upon the continent of the world, and did greater things then the present state of affairs will admit us to do. And I am confident, that there liv'd lately at the Court of *France* and *Spain*, hundreds of Courtiers, who injoyed far taller honours then we, and who would not have embraced the honours we grasp after; and yet *Fame* scornes to be at so much pains as once to mention their names. How many know not at present, the name of that grand Visier, who but lately made *Germany* tremble? and to say that it was the grand Visier, is to praise his Office, and not himself. Who can name the greatest Cardinals at *Rome*, or *Dogs* of *Venice*? And yet, what infinit pains is taken to gain these employments, by such as live upon the place?

I smile to see underling pretenders, and who live in a Country, scarce design'd in the exactests maps, sweat and toil for so unmassie a reputation, that when it is hammered out to the most stretch-

ing

ing dimensions, will not yet reach the nearest towns of a neighbouring Country: Whereas, examine such as have but lately returned from travelling in most flourishing Kingdoms, and though curiosity was their greatest errand, yet ye will find that they scarce know who is Chancellour or first President in these places; and in the exactest Histories, we hear but few news of the famousst Pleaders, Divines or Physitians; and by Souldiers these are under-valued as pedants, and these by them as madcaps, and both by Philosophers as fools.

But though *Fame* were desirable, yet publick Employment is not always attended by it: for, either advancement is attributed to the fancy of the advancer, or to fate and hazard. And in either of these cases, the person promoted is not honoured, but his fate; and it will be loudly proclaimed as a thing most strange, that one of so mean merit or so rebellious principles, or tainted with any such vice (as envy

will either find or make) should be promoted to such honours & whereas if the same person had satisfied himself with a solitary life, his real vices had neither been discovered, nor such forged vices proclaimed; and because people blame Minions, whilst they live for what they dare not charge upon their Master, their envy or revenge transmits to posterity that character which was received to their prejudice, whilst they yet governed. Was *Perseus* famous, though *Commodus* then Emperour raised him next to the throne; or *Oliver* the Barber, though *Leir* made him his Minion: No, for Princes can bestow greatness, but *Fame* lies no more under their jurisdiction than the winds do, from which it doth but little differ. Of all witnesses *Fame* is the most suspect, because it ordinarily flatters most those who depended most upon it, and were at greatest toil to gain it's suffrage, and to depone falsely against the greatest of such as value not it's testimony: and as it's report

success, either to hazard, or to their
 power. And, to speak seriously, power
 is so happy a suffragant, that it takes
 off much of that repute which is due
 to the contriver: for, who can be toy'd
 having such a second? And to com-
 vince us, that power and command
 conceals what strength and energie
 there is really in the Governours wit,
 reflect but a little upon those pitifull
 rebels, who govern'd lately this Coun-
 trey, and did seem most wise, whilst
 they were vested with power. Of
 which, being now again devested, their
 wit falls far short of the first cast. Like
 those Venetian Ladies, whose native
 stature rises, and lowes in appearance,
 according to the height of these, *soc-
culi* whereupon they walk. But
 if Fame be the great prize, I see not
 why the *Literati* and *Virtuosi*, nor
 retir'd *Curiosi*, may not put in for as
 large a share in it, as most (if not any)
 States-man. For, if that maxime hold,
 that *propter quod unum quodque est
 tale, propter hoc, illud ipsum est majus
 tale,*

tales: certainly it follows in true Logicke, that being solitary persons are the dispensers and bestowers of *Fame* upon great men; they cannot miss it themselves. How had *Æneas* conduct, or *Achilles* valour, been forgot, had not *Homer* or *Virgil* sung their *Elogies*? And after a great man hath defeated Kingdoms, a pedant is (like the sillie worm) able in one night, to consume that blossoming gourd of his reputation: And being the world know not what the one did, they will believe what the other said. History (which is the grand register of *Fame*) is known for the most part only to retir'd persons, and these will admire most what suites most with their own humour: And *Fame* it self being most oblig'd to such as study solitude, it obliges ordinarily these most, because they have oblig'd it. *Aristotle* hath prov'd himself, by his *Syllogisms*, a greater person then *Alexander* his famous Schollar; *Solon* is more famous for his moral advice to *Cresus*, then *Cresus*, who

who possess those mountains of gold, which were the subject of his advice: and *Cicero's* tongue, though pull'd out of his head by *Anthony*, hath spoke out his praises louder, then all the acclamations of the Roman legions and echoing artillerie could proclaim that more then Monarch. And seeing that man is happiest, who is happy whil'st he is a man, such as attain to *Stoic* by *solitude*, are happier then great men, because they are happy whil'st they are able to find it, whil'st the others have it only when they are not sensible of what they have. Compare *Julius Cesar* (to the stature of whose repute our dwarfish endeavours will never be able to rise) with *Lucan*, who wrote the story of his wars, and ye will find *Lucan* the much happier: Consider *Cesar*, macerated with hunger, stiffned with unrewarded toil, jealous of his own souldiers, and apprehensive of the Senat, tortured with the uncertain events of the war, and terrified by the having kill'd his Son

in

in law Pompey, after he was sure of the victory. And then return your reflections upon *Lucan*, sitting in the bosome of a shaddowie grove, flankt with a christal stream, and there creating those noble lines, which have since carried his fame as far as *Cesars* actions; and having in this the advantage of *Cesar*, even as to posterity, that *Cesar's* souldiers, *Pompey's* ill fate, the Senats irresolution, and the cowardliness of their Auxiliaries, share with *Cesar* in the event, and really more then he; whereas *Lucan* inherits the sole praise of his story now, as he did the pleasure of having wrote it while he was yet alive. But to conclude the folly of *Fame*, consider even this generous *Lucan*, falling under the sword of *Nero*; because that cruel Prince was ashamed to see himself so far out-done in wit by one of his own Subjects: and from this learn, that *Fame* is suspicious to its dependers, when it bestows it's favours, and unjust, when it denyes them.

Next

Sect. 6.
The
pleasure
of com-
mand-
ing
others
ex-
amin'd.

Next to this, the satisfaction re-
ceived in commanding others, is ad-
mir'd as one of the ravishing advan-
tages of publick Employment: And
the soul of man in this, seems to have
retain'd still a false appetite of being
like to it's Maker. But seeing this de-
sign could not be managed even by
the judgement and purity of the great-
est of Angels, so as not to deserve the
severest punishment, and did in them
prove also ineffectual; I find that
little hopes can be entertained of our
succeeding in it. But consider seri-
ously, that it being a congenial humour
in all mankind, to desire freedom;
certainly great men must conclude,
that their dependers would not bow
to such homages, If they thought not
thereby to oblige their Patrons, to the
full requitall of what they so highly
value: And therefore, these being
debts, rather contracted by us than
favour's done us, I see not why we
should so highly prize them; and seeing
in return to these, protection, sal-
aries

laries and Offices are expected, all which put us to real pains; consider if these imaginary pleasures deserve to be bought at the rate of such real vexations. The *Magnifico* must himself bow to his Prince, bear his extravagancies, swear a friendship with these whom he hates, dispence with affronts, spend all his time in attendance at Court, and in observing these humours, which he must thereafter superstitiously obey; and all this, that he may gain wherewith to repay salutations, flatteries, legs, congies, and such like pittifull pleasures; and that he may scrue himself so far into the respect of the people, that he may have hats pull'd off to him, which will be likewayes done (and for the same reason likewayes) to a lifeless chair of State or the meanest fool, if his shoulders be strong enough to bear a tittle, or any other the meanest mark of his Princes favour. And that he may be magnified by his dependers, whom because of their interest none will believe, being

being bribed to depone what they say of him, is not this satisfaction a meer act of fancy? And is it not safer to translate our fancy to some other object, then to moderate it here? And who can assure himself, that when he hath arrived at that pitch of command which he presently proposes, that this shall terminat his ambition? and is not the French King as much troubled, that he cannot command the Grand-signior, as a french courtier is for being lower then his King? And after that a Chancellor hath rendred his place, by any short possession familiar to him, he then despises what he enjoys, by the same principle which invited him to desire that employment, when it was yet above his reach. But abstracting from these considerations, what can it advantage any man that another bows to him? It can neither cure Gout nor Gravel. And when he is displeased at any thing else, it is so far from being able to solace him, that that which vexes him most, is, that any person can
be

Be found who dares displease one who is so great as he: and if he had not been so great, that accident which now grieves him, could not have vexed him: so that in wishing to be great, we wish that we may be made more susceptible of affronts, then nature hath already made us.

I need not tell you, *Celador*, that great men are oblig'd to attend more submissively their Superiors, then we do them: because these have more designs then we, and design is the occasion of our dependance. So that if there be any pleasure in liberty, we enjoy it more then these; and if there be none, why is there so much pains taken to be great, upon expectation, that greatness sets at liberty? A private man is not oblig'd to oppose his Relations, fight against his Country, give his own Judgement the lye, all which are but the meanest impositions that some Princes lay upon greatness: and why should men purchase, at so dear a rate, the liberty to serve others, which is all that greatness can bestow?

See 7.
The sa-
tisfacti-
on of so-
lity ex-
amin'd.

I know that society is one of these satisfactions which we rank amongst the pleasures of the first magnitude; and that as to the possession of this, solitariness seems to cede to publick Employments. But when we consider, that the prerogative of society stands not in seeing one another, but in rational conversation, it will appear that the difference is not wide. For, what pleasure can be received by talking of new Fashions, buying and selling of Lands, advancement or ruine of Favourites, victories or defeats of stranger Princes, which is the ordinary subject of ordinary conversation? And really I have admir'd to see persons of virtue and honour long much to be in the City, where when they come, they found nor sought for no other divertisement then to visit one another, and there to do nothing else then to make legs, view others habit, talk of the weather, or some such pitifull subject: and it may be, if they made a farther inroad upon any other affair, they did so pick

we would not have one

one another, that it afforded them matter of eternal quarrel; for what was at first but an indifferent subject, is by interest adopted into the number of our own quarrels. This begets heats; heats opprobries; opprobries revenge; and revenge leads either to fret, if we cannot satisfie its thirst; or to ruine, if we cannot quench it. How many likewise are in these rencounters, tempted either to betray their ignorance or malice? and if one know not the new name of such a dish or dress, such an intrigue, or such a quarrel or marriage, then they are esteemed block-heads. Most of men desire to frequent their Superiors, and there men must either suffer their raillery, or must not be suffered to continue in their society. If we converse with these who speak with more address than our selves, then we repine equally at our own dulness, and envy the acuteness that accomplishes the speaker; or, if we converse with duller animals than our selves, then we weary

to draw the yoke alone, and fret
 at our being in ill company: But, if
 chance blow us in amongst our equals,
 then we are so at guard to catch all ad-
 vantages, and so interress'd in point
 of *bonheur*, that it rather cruciats then
 recreats us: How many makes them-
 selves cheap by these occasions, whom
 we had valued highly if they had fre-
 quented us less: and how many fre-
 quent persons, who laugh at that sim-
 plicity which the addresser admires in
 himself as wit, and yet both recreate
 themselves with double laughters: It
 is remarked by Geographers, that no
 King alive is worship'd by his Subjects
 but the King of *Binn*, and that he is
 never seen by them, and certainly, if he
 were seen, he would not be worship'd.
 And thus these ancient Hero's were
 never deifi'd, till death had, by bury-
 ing themselves, buried the memory of
 these infirmities, which, though they
 were but few in some, and mean in
 others, had notwithstanding enough
 of allay in them to make the commit-

ters

ters, not only be conceived no gods, but oft-times to represent them as frail men. *Familiarity is* (in the proverb) *said to breed contempt*; which it does not only by that natural satiety, whereby nothing can become common and continue (to our apprehension) good, but likewise, by laying open to conversers these lapses and failours, which if they deserve not contempt, do, at least, lessen that repute which was in others founded for them rather upon *Ideas* which they framed of our perfections, then upon these merits which might justly challenge them. Familiarity hath likewise this prejudice in it, that it blunts those endeavours in us, whereby repute is ordinarily acquired; and in remitting that exactness whereby we entertain strangers, we lose that share of esteem which exactness and politeness deserves; these extraordinary parad's, made ordinarily to our less familiars, being a holy-dayes dress in conversation, which though it flatters, ceases not therefore to weary.

us. Our Saviour does himself, and of himself, say it in holy Scriptures, that *a Prophet hath no honour in his own country*; and the foolish Jews gave him ground to say so, when they concluded that he could not work miracles, because his mother and brethren dwelt amongst them, and because they did know him and his extraction.

But if variety be that which is admired in society, certainly our own thoughts, or other mens Books, can in these far exceed conversation; possessing above it this advantage, that we can never be either importun'd or betray'd by these, as is much to be fear'd from the other. And it is most remarkable, that after *Solomon* hath fixt a *vanity and vexation of spirit* upon all the actings of men, and hath after several times subjoyned it to publick Employment, he only sayes, that reading is a weariness to the flesh, without adding it to be a vexation of spirit. But albeit society were to be valued at the rate imagin'd, yet solitary persons injoy more the

the sweets of society then great men do: for, in all addressees to these, the addressers consider only what is fit for their private interest, and little else is added, besides the dropping of a flattering expression or two: and when any dis-interested subject is fallen upon with them, it is spoke to with so much constraint, and the speakers are so hem'd in by discretion and respect, that the discourse is manag'd with much disadvantage. And our very duty teacheth us, that to speak learnedly, is pedantry there, and to speak religiously is impertinent: So that we must either transgresse our duty, or else be mean in our conversation. But, albeit the humour of the Grandee were so noble, as to admit of freedom in conversation, yet few ingenuous spirits (who are the only best companions) can speak freely in publick, or to publick persons: whereas, the most hide-bound Orator can pour his conceptions into his neighbours bosom, in their natural set and fashion, and with as little alteration as a discourse

receives, by being cast off the Press
upon paper.

Reflect but upon these many thousand apologies which are carry'd up and down amongst such as converse much together; and which, as they make up the greatest part both of their employment and vexation; So are not incident to any who live solitarily, these being the natural product of conference and rencounters: And ye may conclude, that either these who make such apologies, are as real in making them, as they seem passionat in having them to be believed; and then, conversation may appear to be most dangerous, seeing these prove, that men may easily mistake, and are so easily mistaken by such as daily frequent them, as yet to need so solemn and so numerous apologies; or else these are but feign'd, and then they prove conversation to be yet more dangerous, seeing, as men are subject to mistake and be mistaken, so our own real apologies
for

for those mistakes will not be believed, because of the frequency of other counterfeits; nor can we, for the same reason, discern whether such as are made to us be real or not: what was the subject of this dayes conference, will be the subject of an accusation to morrow; and that secret, which we thought we did but lately depositate in our friends breasts, will shortly fly in our faces from the mouth of our enemies: But though our friend were real and secret, yet his inconstancy may make these either no virtues at all, or ineffectual and unprofitable ones; a quality now so ordinary, that I take pleasure to see both my self and others mistake the several interests which they knew intimately a year ago, cabals and intrigues moulding themselves almost every month in different shapes, according to the humours or interests of the parties concern'd: And so pestilential is the malignity of conversation, that even Ladies fall here, and this piece of frailty they are suffer'd

to cary about them to keep them from being ador'd, because of their other amiable qualities: For, if their converse were not dangerous, because that any error is there a crime, and no affront can there be reveng'd; certainly there should no place else be frequented. Consider, I pray you, how discourses are laught at, though never so witty, if three or four combine to represent them as ridiculous; how a slip, either in the choice or accent of a word, becomes irreparable, by being incurr'd in a society where nothing is design'd but censure; and when any proves happy in that trade of jybning, they must be gauding abroad (so tempting is this folly) though sure to meet in these journeys the repute of flight or dishonest; and that Jearer, who at the beginning was esteem'd a wit, is, by continuing his trade (yea though he improve in it) undervalued as a Buffoon.

It was nobly observed by *Marcus Antonius*, that great Emperour and Philosopher,

losopher, that a Weaver or Cobler, would willingly sequestrat themselves from all society, that they might prosecute their severall trades; and yet man cannot retire himself, that he may admire the creation, and exercise his own soul, which is the great trade of a rational Creature, and of a true Philosopher. And since gain can prevail with all so far, as to make them renounce society, and esteem company an idle folly; certainly, if we would reflect upon the great advantages of *solitude*, both as to morality and devotion, it were an easie matter to prefer it to those which are in themselves but trifles, if not burthens.

I have these three Arguments to Sect 8.
perswade me, that *solitude*, Contem- That
plation, or a Countrey-life, have more solitude
of pleasure in them then publick Em- is more
ployment. The first is, that pleasure, pleasing
being in men, an act of the fancy, and then
consequently of the soul; certainly publick
these pleasures, which do more imme- Em-
diatly affect the soul, must needs be the ploy-
ment.
most

most active pleasures; and such are these which arise from contemplation: whereas sensual pleasures, and such as arise from exterior objects, do arrive but consequentially at that immaterial agent, and so they do move it with far less vigour. A second is, that Contemplation does often drive our souls into extasies, and is so charming, that it may be rather said to ravish then please, committing so open a rapture upon our souls, that it pulls them almost into a state of separation: Thus those old Hermits are the members of the ancient Church, who are ofttest remark't to have become thus nobely senseless, being as far transported out of themselves, as they had transported themselves formerly out of the world, and lying whole weeks under that spiritual amazement, and drunk, as it were, with those streams of consolations which flow from those blessed Cisterns, the open wounds of our glorious Saviour. And amongst the Heathens, did not *Pithagoras* almost distract

distract with the satisfaction conceiv'd in finding that noble and famous demonstration mention'd in the second Book of *Euclide*? Was not *Pliny* so ravish'd with the pleasure of contemplating the rarities of the hill *Vesuvius*, as, for further enquiry to approach so near, that he lost himself in its flames? And was not *Archimedes* so much pleas'd with his demonstration upon the sands of *Siracuse*, that he would not lose so much time from it as wherein he might beg his life from the rude conquerours: Whereas, besides what comes from fear or revenge, we read nor hear of no such mighty passion in any of these who live in the fruition of publick Employments, or sophistical satisfactions. The third Argument is, that we find the satisfaction resulting from honour and ambition, to ced to very mean pleasures, and to such as have nothing of satisfying in them, besides what they owe to the corruption of our senses, and to be such as do themselves yield easily to this
energetick

energetick pleasure of contemplation.

Is not a Gallant, and even a Statesman, who is in love with a Mistris, and sometimes with a whore, or hath an unquenchable thirst for wine or companionrie, willing to prefer the satisfaction of these passions to all advancement, or the pleasures which he can receive by them? And this evidences, that this desire to govern, is, of it's own nature, none of the strongest; at least that our fancy may have other objects less dangerous, and equally pleasing, whereupon to dote. And a Pedant, reading *Pompey's* actions in good Latine, is as much enchanted with it, at least with the having written handsomely his Epitaph, as *Pompey* could have been himself in the fruition of all his glories, and the most spreading ruff of his pride. And a Countrey Gentleman is as much taken with a happy chase, or a Clown with a mean hire, as the happiest Favourite can be with the purchase of the highest office, which the fear to lose, or new pretences,

tences, and much anxious attendance, doth lessen much to him: But if these concessions of gain or honour occasion raptures in the receivers, that joy brings more tickling with it, then is fit for the spirit of man to receive; and occasions want of sleep, discomposure in discourse, and all these other extravagancies which proceed from grief at other times: Whereas, *Solitude* gives no other pleasures then what is fit for our recreation, or sutable to our reason and stoicall indifferency; so that seing every state hath pleasant objects provided for the enjoyers fancy, that state must be most preferable which fancies objects the least dangerous, and such is *Solitude*, but such is not publick Employment.

I think the ancient Philosophers put but a mean complement upon man, when they call'd him *a little world*: for certainly, his vast soul hath in it nobler *idea's* of all that is created, then the finitnes of matter will allow to the Creation it self; whose spirit is so narrow, but it can in one thought represent

sent larger Sphears, a more vast Globe, and more boundless Seas, then all these which were brought from the bosom of the first *Chaos*. And after infinite expence hath impoverished a building Prince, the meanest Peasant can in his fancy add exceedingly to it's bulkiness; and which is more, that faculty can mould *idea's* of thousands of species never yet created, that can bring forth more monsters then *Affrick*, and can produce more novelties then *America*: and as we cannot but admire these productions, for their variety; So we cannot but love them, because they are our own. And thus, seeing there can be no pleasure in that variety which is to be discerned in the world, but what our fancy takes, (for, what else is there in beholding real Castles, Navies, Courts or Cities, but a divertising of our fancies: for nature needs none of those) certainly, retirement hath in this the start of it's rival: for there, fancy is at fuller freedom, and roaves with less contraction then when it is limited by the

the narrowness of the senses; through which wickets; certainly nothing can enter which is angust or ample. In publick we see the same men most ordinarily still act the same things; and we our selves are so much busied with our interest; that we regard little even the small variety which is discoverable in them. And certainly, it is a great disparagement to the Creation to think, that there is not variety enough there, to busie our meditation; or that there is less there then in a City or Court: It is true that we'll see there variety of Hangings, Cabinets, and such like toys; but if we would view the various faces of the sky but one day, we would perceive more of variety in those, more of excellent colours and various motions; then in ten thousand such trifles as these. Consider but the beauty of one tulip, and it's several freckles; the motion of one Bird, and it's several wheelings; the shapes of several worms; and their different crawlings; and ye will find task enough, and more variety

variety there, then a City can afford, wherein they may represent you a painted Rose, but not it's smell; the shape of a Foule, but not it's motion: And yet men there dot upon that one quality of shape in pictures, more then upon ten thousand reall species in the complex of all their excellent qualities; which if ye call fineness, I see no reason why ye may not call madness virtue. It is not then want of variety in nature, but want of observation in us, which occasions this error, and he understood all things infinitely better then we, who said, *that Solomon in all his glory was not like one Lily of the field.* It's reported of a great Philosopher, that for fifty years he employed himself in the observation of Bees, and all that time found both new task and pleasure; and never any could say that he had observed fully all that was to be observed in floures, Anatomy, Astrology, or any of these Sciences, amongst which the least copius in measuring lengths hath advantage

age

tage of our lives; and yet we complain, that retirement (where these are only to be found) hath not employment or divertisement enough for us.

But if these suffice not, my dear *Celador*, enter into your own breast, and there survey the several operations of your own soul, the progress of your passions, the strugglings of your appetite, the wandrings of your fancy; and ye will find, I assure you, more variety in that one piece, then there is to be learned in all the Courts of *Christendome*. Represent to your self the last age, all the actions and interests in it, how much this person was infatuated with zeal, that person with lust; how much one pursued honour, and another riches; and in the next thought, draw that Scene, and represent them all turn'd to dust and ashes.

The world is a Comedy, where every man acts that part which providence hath assigned him; and as it is esteemed more noble to look on then to act, So really, I know no securer box, from
G which

which to behold it, then a safe *solitude*, and it is easier to feel then to express the pleasure which may be taken in standing aloof, and in contemplating the reelings of the multitude, the excentrick motions of great men; and how fate recreats it self in their ruine, as if it fed them with success, as the Romans fed their Gladiators, who serv'd for nothing else but in beating one another, to recreate the disinterested beholders. Consider how some are cartelling for not drinking of a glass, others fretting at the promotion of their equals; one vext that he was not safely delivered of his prepared harangue; another scanning every syllable of his frowning Mistris letter: And even these humours again laugh'd at by some; and that laughter weep'd at by others of these *Virtuosi's*, who pretend to a Dictatorship in moral philosophy.

Heraclitus.
Democritus.
Sect. 9.
Solitude
enriches
more
than
publick
Employment.

Some admire publick Employment, and prefer it to *solitude*, because the one gains (whilst the other wastes) an opulent

opulent fortune : But these should consider, that as these Merchant-venturers would eminently deserve to be esteemed mad, who would hazard their Stock in a voyage, where certainly ten of a thousand bottoms will not return unshipwrack't ; So pretenders to advancement must be mad, seeing scarce ten of a thousand prove successfull in the design, so few are the preferments which can enrich, and so many the hazards in reaching them ; and which is worse, of these ten which are prefer'd, scarce four will be found, who do not prove so unhappily long-liv'd, as not to survive their conquests and honours ; and having got a glimpse only of happiness, *En passant*, do become so much the more miserable, that they have been once happy. And as to these with whom greatness is pleas'd to continue, do they not oft-times, by raising themselves as high as their fancy, raise themselves too high for their estates, and the one by swelling make the other to burst : How few Grandees are not forc'd to

eek up their spendings with contracted
 debts after their own revenues are
 wasted: whereas such as live privately,
 and in a Countrey-life, transmit to
 their posterity the remainders of that
 yearly rent which rests after all neces-
 sities are defray'd: So that the Coun-
 trey-man must be rich, seeing his neces-
 sities overcome not his fortune; and
 publick persons must be reputed poor,
 seeing they have not sufficiency for their
 maintenance. Is not a little man as
 well cloath'd in his four yards of cloath,
 as a taller is in six? And are not the
 Princes of *Italy* esteem'd but petty
 Princes, because in desiring to be such,
 they have made these fortunes which
 might have made them rich Subjects,
 too small for the support of so weighty
 titles, as that of Sovereign? But ad-
 mit that these enjoyments continued
 for the enjoyers life-time; yet God
 ordinarily takes from the length of the
 duration what these added to the
 breadth of their conquests: As a too
 hasty concoction destroyes the body;
 So

So a too soon conquest estate destroyes the conquest: and what like *Fonah's* Gourd flourishes in one night, loses the next these blossoms wherewith it was adorn'd. *Hasten not to be rich*, was the counsel of a great Moralist, as well as Divine, and *G o d* Almighty gave us no other task, then to *gain our bread*, and that *with the sweat of our brow*: So that in desiring great and suddain estates, we are peccant both as to the matter, and manner of our acquisition: And what can we propose reasonably to our selves in thus doing? for little can defend us against our present necessities, and nothing can defend against the future. And when these riches are pyl'd up, they serve either to satisfie nature, and that is easie; or to satisfie fancy, and that is impossible. When a publick Minister hath gain'd, by either toil, oppression, or a long courted favour, a great sum, he possibly makes a great entertainment, or buy's a great Jewel, with that or the equivalent, and

either surfeits in the one, or vexes himself in losing the other; and albeit he do not, what pleasure is there in either of these, but the serving of our fancy, after the same manner that children do, when we laugh at them for hugging toyes and bables? Most men are as much troubled in the spending of what they gain, as in gaining it; and thus one trouble creates another by an alternat succession. All we gain (saith *Solomon*) is either for food or rayment (pomp and superfluity being no design allow'd by nature) and much or fine of either of these, serve not to defend against either cold or hunger: And so seing the Peasant or solitary Philosopher, attains sooner to the true end of riches by his sobriety, then the other by his abundance; certainly he must be the richer; and that is most excellent which attains soonest to the end for which it was destinat: If such want money to give Lawyers or Physicians, they also want employment for these; and without employment no man desires money:

So

So that riches are really (though they remain) but like the *manna*, whereof Exod. *he who gathered little had abundance; 16. 18* and he who gathered too much, had nothing over: And if riches remain not but take the wings of the morning, and flee away, as oft they do, then consider that publick Persons are most subject to these alterations; for forfeiturs, alterations of Government, or favour, intestine wars, luxurie, gain, popular fury, or an heir confiding in his fathers prosperity, or educat amidst many spending wanters, and such other dissolute persons as frequent publick places, will sooner drive to that necessity, which men should only fear, then moderation or retirement can do: And when great men are impoverish't by these accidents, they are asham'd, because of their former state, and incapable by want of suitable breeding to repair their losses, or satisfy their necessities by pains or frugality, as privat men can; and which is worse then all this, their former prosperity

perity makes want far more unsupportable to such, then to the other, to whom the greatest hardships have been rendered familiar.

Se&. 10.
The sa-
tisfacti-
on of Lust
confi-
der'd.

As to such who think, that publick Employment and Command will afford them convenience to satisfy their lust, I can say nothing, but that it's better to live in a sober *solitude*, wherein men may so tame their lusts, that they need not satisfy them; There is no pleasure in eating but to such as are hungry; and certainly, it were for our advantage, rather that we could live without being hungry, then even to have as much as might satisfy hunger when it comes: High feeding, and want of better employment, begets this; and what impairs these extinguishes it: Whereas, I am confident, such as are servilly subject to it, suffer more anxiety in the purchasing of that conveniency, then private men can do by the want of bread: For they will for that purchase disoblige friends, cheat their intimats, prove ungrate to their

their sweet bed-fellows, suffer themselves to be talked of, and run a thousand other hazards, which they would not encounter for staving off the greatest of these necessities under which mean men suffer; and when this is gain'd, what brings it, but sickness, jealousies, horrors in conscience, and reproach amongst men?

When I compare *solitude* with publick Employment, as to their recreations, I find, that the one follows only such as because nature hath invented, it doth therefore sweeten, and such as have no danger in them, besides that of being too much charming; as hunting, hawking, angling, and the like, wherein we have occasion to learn, as well as to praise, the workmanship of our mighty Maker: And in the other, such divertisements are most familiar, as if they have not been invented to gain money, or feed lust, yet are not really recreations, if they look not towards these ends; and which are attended by so much toil, fretting, sweating,

See. 11.
The re-
creati-
ons of
both
compa-
red.

sweating, swearing, lying, cheating, and other vices, that their great pleasures are the worst of torments except their tragick periods; of which nature, are cards, dice, tennis, dancing, drinking, feasting and whooring, which do oftner divert men from being real Christians, then divertise those who are really such. If great men enjoy not recreations, they become unfit for employment, and employment becomes a burden to them; and if they sequester the meanest portion of time for privat recreations, they are curs'd by those thousands, whom multitude of affairs, rather then laziness, hath defer'd, and who are so unreasonable as only to consider that they are put off, but not to consider wherefore.

*Se&. 12.
Both
compa-
red as
to their
food
and ray-
ment*

Though food and rayment are no constituents, yet they are too often lookt upon as considerable appanages of our more material happiness; and these used by great men, though they cannot make the enjoyer happy, yet serve to make the by-standers conclude

clude themselves unhappy in the want of them: And therefore I shall make these few reflections upon both, whereby it will appear, that as to these, the meanest men are more happy then the greatest Monarch.

As to Raiment, certainly, that used by private men, is most noble, most easie, and attended by fewest inconveniences: Most noble, because in these great men follow the mode, but mean men make their own mode, and so the one, as to that, is a Subject, and the other a Sovereign: Great men are servants not only to the fashion, but to such cloaths as are in it, they must abstain from every thing which may soil or disorder them, and must employ much of that time and life, which is the only thing they pray for, and which they buy with much torture and money from Physicians, meerly in adjusting them every morning, and though it should prejudice their health or estate, they must have these fashionable and rich. How many shifts will
be

be used, and other pleasures abandon-
 ed, that money may be got to give for
 these; whereas a solitary person wears
 such as are convenient for his health,
 and may be subservient to any em-
 ployment; and that his are more easie,
 appears from this, that great men, when
 they resolve to take their ease, lay
 aside their robes, which serv'd for no-
 thing else, but make themselves sweat,
 and others gaze: Jewels and Em-
 broderies may make cloaths, by being
 stiff, useless and insupportable, but
 neither are necessary to cover our na-
 kedness, or entertain our natural heat.
 And when the fashion changes, these
 rich futes serve only either to make
 the owner ridiculous, if he wear them,
 or to make him fret and grumble when
 he must lay them aside; and though
 they continue fashionable, yet if ano-
 ther out-strip us in a more sumptuous
 suit or retinue, then we repine, and
 by missing our design of being more
 gallant than others, we likewise miss
 our happiness; which, because it was
 not

not plac'd upon something which was in our own power, it is therefore in the power of every other man to take from us.

As to Food, that which is us'd by mean men is both more natural and more pleasant: more natural, because it is prepar'd with less toil, and being cook'd by nature it self, serves nature more adequatly, as to all intents and purposes; it neither entices men to eat till they be unable for their affairs, nor brings it sickness; it affords strength, and prolongs life; whereas, when publick Employment brings riches, and these have hir'd cooks, all they can do, is to cheat the stomach into an oppression, and by fumes sent from thence, chase away fine thoughts out of our heads to make room for vapours. Solitary persons dine when they please, but great men when it suits with their business; and as they are more subject to invitations, to feasts and entertainments; So they must there sit longer, and eat more than nature

nature requires, and they must either dis-oblige their Hoste, or kill themselves. I know many, who in place of complementing such as they invite, make them envy them; and many who are vext when they hear of another who lives at a nobler rate then themselves, and who pillage the poor, that they may entertain the rich; That the Food of private men is more pleasant, arises from this, that the stomach hath, by its fumes, depraved the taste, so that nothing can relish; or custome hath render'd the finest delicacies so ordinary, that nothing can appear pleasant; a Peasant by fasting longer, or working more laboriously then at other times, can thereby heighten the relish of his dish beyond all the art in the Emperours kitchen, or Apothecaries shop. And I have heard of a Merchants wife, who being much subject to diseases whil'st her husbands trade flourish'd, did live very long, and very healthfully, after he was broke. And when rich persons fall sick,

lick, who knows but their Physician may contribute to make the disease continue long, or the apparent air to make it end suddainly : And when the Physician is honest, does he not forbid the use of all these delicacies, whereof greatness boasts of as an advantage ?

The greatest pretext used to excuse ^{Sec. 3.} this zeal, after publick Employment, ^{Object.} is, that the Countrey must be served, ^{That} and man is not made for himself : To ^{the} which my answer is, that this makes ^{Coun-} employment the object of our duty, ^{they} not of our passion, and infers it as a ne- ^{must be} cessity, not as a choice, which is all ^{serv'd.} that is contended for : Who is so absurd as to deny his Countrey that service, which is really but the return of it's protection ? Or, who will be so mad as not to contribute either skill or agility in saving that Ship from sinking, wherein himself fails ? And this makes me conclude such as rebell against their Governors, to be as mad as these are, who pull down their own houses, which defends them off against

against the circumambient and blustering storms; and gives me a veneration for the persons of such as are my Superiours, to whom nothing said here, that is disadvantageous, should be applied. But if the serving of our Countrey be that impulse, which only acts us on to undertake employments, this same design should make us wait till we be called for by our Countrey: do not pretend to employment, in desiring each to enter first, obstruct all entry to employments? As we see, in entering at publick places, where the pressing of all hinders the entry of all; do we not upon this account oft remark, that offices are kept vacand by Princes, because of the multitude of rivals who compet for preference, and so by their hast to enter, prejudge the Countrey more, then by their entry they can assist it: Whereas, if it were for the publick good that we undertook these employments, all would wait till their rational reluctancy were vanquishd, with either the importunities

nities of their Prince, or conveniency of their Countrey: And when that design for which they were called, were satisfi'd or driven to it's design'd period, they would willingly solace themselves again, by their retreat to these Countrey-employments, from which they were at first rather driven, then brought. And certainly, if the publick interest were that which only did invite men to appear in publick, they would not repine at their being laid aside, nor force an entry through the very sides of their Countrey, making a breach in its ramparts, because they cannot enter at it's gates, as too many pretenders daily do.

Should not such as the State have ^{Sec. 14} thought fit to remove from em- ^{It is just} ployment, consider, that others have ^{that} an equal title by nature, to ad- ^{there} vancement with them; and that, ^{should} as if their predecessors in these offi- ^{be chan-} ces had not been remov'd, they had ^{ges in} not been advanc'd? So either it was ^{favour.} injustice to remove these, or else it

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is no injustice to remove them; and they should rather prove grateful for having enjoy'd these honours so long, then ingrate in repining, that they retain'd them not still, which were as unnatural as if the Sun should constantly dwell in one of his twelve houses (making that the only Summer-house in heaven) and should not, by successive withdrawings and returns, magnifie his presence by his absence, and by that constant change be so just, as not to gratifie all, that he may please a few. If these, who are in offices, were not subject to alterations, they would presume too much, and such as wanted them would certainly despair; whereas, now the fear of being degraded, makes such as are in employment virtuous and compassionat, fearing least their practice become their dittey; and the hope of advancement makes such as yet have not attain'd to it, walk so as may deserve applause, and so as they may shun reproach: If such alterations were not incident to great men, they

they would oft want occasion and time to repent of those sins which they committed in publick, either by inadvertence, having their thoughts distracted with many things; or by extravagancie, having their thoughts rais'd above their just level. And if there were not such alterations, great men should neither have time to admire G o d s many wonders, nor to review his many mercies, and it should be unknown whether Greatness or *solitude* were the most Christian state.

Many noble spirits have been fright-
ed from *solitude*, as conceiving it to be
a state wherein the soul contracts a
rust, which cankers it's own substance
and makes it unpleasant to others, and
that it begets men the name of a
Countrey-clown, and unfashions him as
to the world. But these should con-
sider, that seing the finitnes of our
souls allows not a compleat accomplish-
ment, it is our wisdom to fill our nar-
row rooms with the most necessar pro-
visions, and these are, *the knowledge of*

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Gad, and his works; from which will result that tranquility of spirit which is peculiar to Philosophy, and is the guest of *solitude*: So that when in exchange of complement, courtship, knacks, reparties, and such other appanages of conversation, we become pious, learned and moral Philosophers; I think us losers in no other sense, than a tree is, when it's gaudy flourish ripens into such fruit as can both please the relish, and feed the body. It may be, a Philosopher may forget by his solitude whether to give a Lady his right or left hand; but if in his solitude he hath learn'd to know what is right or wrong in her or his own actions, I think she should esteem him so much the more, and he is by much the more happier. And if the world conclude him improven, who in learning how to order an Army, hath forgot how to order a ball; I see not why they should account him an Apostate in breeding, who is so intent upon the contemplation of a Deity and it's productions,

ductions, as not to care to adore these mortal goddesses, except for whom the pressers of this objection have little or no devotion, being rather devoted servants to these, then devout servants to the Almighty: and how can that soul rust which is in continual exercise, as these of Philosophers are? And this is more to be feared in such, as by living in publick are still busied, and yet idle: for, may not we be busie in soliciting for unnecessary favours to others, in receiving and paying visits, in driving on unnecessary factions, and yet our souls contract a rust, whose cancker may make it at last moulder away to nothing? For, what share can our souls take in such actions, wherein it hath no other concernment then such as a man hath in the motions of his enemies?

Let us then admire *solitude* (noble *Celador*) seeing to it religious persons flee when they would seek Gods face; sick men when they would seek health: here States-men find their plots, learn'd men their knowledge,

Poets their sublime fancies. In *solitude*, nestle the greatest of Saints; in publick, range the greatest of Sinners, to the one we owe the best of inventions, to the other the worst of cheats.

Having thus rais'd this pitifull structure to it's Cape-stone, I resolve to furnish it with these two Land-skips; the one of *solitude*, the other of Greatness.

Æ. 16
The
Land-
skip of
solitude

When I come to represent *solitude*, I must confess that it's advantages are so great, as that if any thing can surpass them, it must be the esteem I have of them. And for contriving it's Land-skip, I represent to my self *Quintus Metius posthumus*, that noble Roman, who having been brought from his plough to govern that great City, did after he had conquer'd it's enemies, return to his former employment; and being ready to leave them, call'd for a ballance, and by putting the *fascies* (or marks of Authority) in one scale, and his plough in the other, did let them

them see, that these Imperial Ensigns were the far lighter. Not far from him, I represent *Timon* the noble Athenian, and *Gerson* Chancellour of *France*, who starv'd after they had spent their estates in complement and liberality; exclaiming against all publick persons as perfidious; and friends (as they found) to a mans fortune, but not to himself. Here *Diogenes* undervalues so far all *Alexanders* presents, as to prefer one sight of the Sun to all that he could command; who commanded all that the Sun shin'd upon: and there *Fiacre*, that illustrious Scot, refuses to return from his Hermitage to receive the Crown of his Ancestors. Here lurks *St. Feram*, laughing in the midst of his own torments at the follies of the world: and there the great *Constantine* bewails with tears the want of solitude; and the multitude of these distractions, which though they did not extinguish, yet did disturb his devotions. Below these stands a Countrey-gentleman, admiring the

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folly of a *Venetian* Embassador, for being vex't to death, because he was at a festival plac'd upon a stool, and not upon a chair; and smiling to see a *Russian* Embassador, who could not step (though very sound) till he was led by two attendants; and to hear of the Emperour and Turks Embassadours, who at their last meeting, behov'd like two *Pendula's* Clocks, either to set their paces equally, or else not to be reputed just. Represent to your self rich Valleys, where the liberal soyl needs neither be bryb'd by yearly accessions, nor courted with nice attendance, nor torn by instruments (as in *City-gardens*) before it will bestow any thing upon it's Masters; but without keeping close doors (as these do) keeps an open house to all passengers for herbs and floures of all tastes and liveries. Here the *Nightingale* is constrain'd to stay without any other cage, then that of the native pleasures of the place; and here the Sun looks from morning to night with a pleasing countenance

countenance, upon the off-spring of his own beams, neither clouded with smoak, nor intercepted by angles of falling houses; and these, in effect, differ from Gardens; but as Prose from Meeter, where the materials are oft-times richer, though the contrivance be not so artificial. Here the levelling, though aspiring, trees, lay their heads together, to protect such as seek shelter under their well-cloath'd branches: and the Cristal-streams run slowly and turn many windings, as if by that and their quiet murmurings, they would express an unwillingness to leave so pleasant a field; and in token of their thankfulness, do in a generous manner (because without shewing how) enrich freely the neighbouring Lands, and draws to their Master his picture in one instant, without putting him to the pains of frequent or long sitting; beyond all the skill of *Vandyck* or *Angelo*; entertaining likewise for him whole plantations of fishes, which may afford him both aliment and recreations beyond

yond all that the City can boast, where water never comes, but empty, and as a prisoner, and like all other things and persons corrupts, if it but stay a while there. Here old age crowns, with innocence's livery, these who have innocently improven their youth; and youth bestows strength, because it knows that the strength it bestows is not to be revel'd away in whooring and banqueting. Here Ladies scorn, and need not submit their native colours to fairing, and in their blushing at the fins and impudence of City-gallants, shew a scarlet far exceeding the noblest Lillies, though *Solomon* and all the glory of his Court was not to be compar'd to one of these. Here Complements (which, like cob-webs, are but the artificial texture of pitifull stuff, woven by poisonous spiders) are look'd upon as unpecessar and dangerous; unnecessary, because there goes much of time and pains to their contrivance, yet do they not perswade such as they are addrest to, to believe them so well as

Countrey.

Countrey-ingenuity does it's inhabitants: and dangerous, because they are ordinarily but handsom disguises for such cheating inclinations as are sent abroad to betray the party concern'd. Here Lovers are not like prisoners, coupled together with chains of metal, nor joyn'd, like Princes, in a league for civil interest. Jealousie, that moral feaver which tortures so the soul of man, as that God was content to ordain a miracle for satisfying his doubts, finds no employment here: for virtue entertains these matches which it self hath made, and lengthens out their productions to many more ages, then are able to consume thousands of publick families. And (to dispatch) here, Nature, the eldest daughter of Providence, governs as Queen-regent, and receives so absolute a difference to all her laws, that man may be here thought to be restor'd to that primitive innocence, which he formerly forfeited by his courtship.

For

Sect. 17
The
Land-
skip of
Great-
ness

For framing the Land-skip of Greatness, represent to your self *Alexander* running like a mad man up and down the world, and killing every man who would not call him master (for certainly, we would call any man mad, who would behave so in our streets, and yet they might as justly do the one as he the other) and all this to gain as much as might make him a person worthy of being poyson'd; and esteeming all his greatness so meanly, as to prefer to it's enjoyment the embraces of a whore, who would have prostitute her self to the meanest of his attenders. Here lies *Tiberius* toiling more for the title of Emperour, then a Porter would do for bread; and yet preferring to all that Roman pomp (after he knew what it was) the pleasure of seeing a naked Strumpet, then which no man is so mean, as not to enjoy many greater pleasures. There stands *Hanibal*, as a *Switz*, guarding the King of *Bithinia*; here Chancellor *Bacon* starts at liberty, and there the Duke *d'Alva* starv'd

starv'd in prison; in this bed lyes a
jealous Courtier, tortured with ano-
thers growing, not only greater, but
even equal with him; and in another
lyes one loaded with wounds, received
for his Countrey or Prince, but not re-
garded by them: not far from these lyes
Anthony stobbing himself, and *Cesar*
stob'd by the Senate. In another cor-
ner, ye may perceive a rich heir selling
that rich Suit to a frippery, wherein he
had but lately spent a great Fortune at
Court; and another despairing under
these wounds which he did receive, for
challenging one who took the wall of
him. Here ye may see the head of a
Nobleman, who to be reveng'd of his
Prince for complementing another, was
content to hazard the happines both
of Prince and Countrey, in a rebellion
which at last could not but ruine him-
self and his family; and there ye may
see the quarters of another, who after
he had gain'd much more honour then
he at first design'd, yet was so desirous
to have more, as that to satisfie that de-
sired

fired super-addition; he would hazard what he was already possessed of in jeopardies, which any man not blinded by ambition, might have seen to be fatal. In a third corner, lyes heaps of such as *Somerset*, *Marquess D'Ancre*, *Duke Murdock*, *Cardinal Wolsey* and others, whom nothing but their affronts have made famous, albeit they were the greatest Ministers and Minions of their age.

In a fourth corner are represented many great men, who having left a pleasant Country to come to a City, covered with smoak and infected with stink, are there vext to get money to entertain their Ladies in that luxury and fineness, whereof the one tempts them, and the other tempts others to entertain these amours which are dangerous, and may prove fatal; and who have likewise quit their own families, wherein all these respects were pay'd them, that they are glad to have occasion to pay at that Court, for which they exchange'd their former residence; and who, by the diseases occasion'd by
want

want of that free air which they have left, are rendred unable to relish all the other pleasures which they expected to enjoy in the City. And if after all this, ye will not conclude a solitary Life to be more noble then publick Employment, yet at least ye will, with seraphick Mr. *Boyl*, confess, that there is such a kind of difference betwixt virtue shaded by a private, and shining in a publick life, as there is betwixt a candle carryed aloft in the open air, and inclosed in a lantern; in the former of which situations it gives more light, but in the latter it is in less danger to be blown out.

I shall (*Celador*) in this last place, close this Discourse with the last advantage of *solitude*; which is, that by abstracting its favourites from being rivals to great men, and from being sharers with covetous men, it conciliats to them that applause, which as it was due to their merit, so was obstructed by these and the like incentives.

— *Defunctus*

SOLITUDE prefer'd

Defunctus amabitur idem
hath been the fate of many who were
persecuted whilst they were alive ; and
death and *solitude* have this in common,
that they suffer enemies and oblige
friends, to express their former
esteems : *fame* resembling in this
a shot, where the ball is fled, before
the report arrive at our ears.

But I have spent so much of the age
of this night, in ending this Letter,
that it now begins to grow gray ; and
the dawning twilight brings as much
light as to let me see, that I have been
rather zealous, then manerly, in
shewing you how much I am,

Dear Celador,

Your most humble Servant, and
sincere Well-wisher.

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